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Cover: POTTERY BOWL. Luster ware. Fustat, 11th century A.D. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund. Acc. No. 44.476.



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LABIB HABACHI

As this issue of the Newsletter reached its final editorial step, we received the sad and extremely unfortunate news that Dr. Labib Habachi had died in Cairo (February 18, 1984). The Habachi's have been so much a part of the ARCE it is impossible to contemplate what the passing of Labib will mean, nor can we quickly assess the long and monumental career of this most dedicated friend and scholar.

While we immediately extend our heartfelt condolences to Atteya, it seems appropriate that a proper tribute to the man we all remember so fondly be reserved for a later occasion.

THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION  
OF THE  
CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland's antiquities collection began three years before the museum was built. Most of those early acquisitions were Egyptian objects purchased by a lady named Lucy Olcott Perkins who traveled to Egypt in 1914 and shopped the Cairo and Luxor antiquities bazaars. To Mrs. Perkins' credit more than half of the present Egyptian collection was acquired in the two years before the museum opened its doors, including rare First Intermediate Period and Dynasty XXX reliefs, two fine late New Kingdom anthropoid wooden mummy cases, a Dynasty XXVII bust of Ankh-hor, and Dynasty XVIII glass vessels. Most of the rest of the objects purchased at that time were average examples of the decorative arts--amulets, beads, necklaces, stone and pottery vessels, shawabtis, and Late Period bronzes.

For thirty years after that the Egyptian collection lay nearly dormant except for a few bequests of ancient bronzes. In 1947 the Museum began to acquire major works of Egyptian art, first the gold Leontopolis lion necklace, then in 1948 the Ptolemaic torso of the general Amun-pe-yom, and from 1949-1951 a group of reliefs from the tomb of the late Dynasty XXV to early Dynasty XXVI vizier Mentuemhat. In 1952 Sherman Lee became Curator of Oriental and Ancient Art and made a number of first-rate additions to the collection, including a granite coronation portrait of Amenhotep III, a series of reliefs from the Aten Temple at Karnak, the superb Dynasty XII figure in black granite of King Amenemhet III, and a portrait in rose quartzite of an elderly Amenhotep III. One of the Museum's greatest purchases at this time (1961) was the brilliantly painted relief with nome gods from a temple of Amenhotep III. Miraculously, fifteen years later an adjoining fragment with another nome god and part of the register above was found and added to the collection.

Lee, who had become the museum's Director, was succeeded as Curator of Ancient Art by John D. Cooney, formerly Curator of Ancient Art at the Brooklyn Museum. Under Cooney's supervision a number of great objects were added: a Ptolemaic figure of an Apis bull in green serpentine, three Faiyum portraits, a large Archaic Period alabaster sculpture of the frog form goddess Heqat, and an extraordinarily fine Roman period bronze Harpocrates.

More recent purchases in this area include an extremely rare portrait of King Weserkaf, a fine late New Kingdom bronze priest, and a superb late Dynasty XVIII hardwood figure of a man with glass inlays.

One of our most recent accessions was transferred to us from the Oriental Department to which it had been donated as a Chinese bronze bear. It had languished in storage for twenty-five years until Dr. Lee extracted it for our study and research which successfully identified the object as a Greco-Roman period Egyptian hippopotamus.

The small but very choice Islamic collection includes superb Fustat lustre ware and Mamluk glass as well as excellent examples of Abbasid, Fatimid, and Mamluk textiles.

Major works of art are illustrated in the museum's Handbook (most recent printing 1978) and discussed fully in articles in the museum's Bulletin published ten times yearly.

The museum is open Tuesday through Friday 10-6, Wednesday 10-10, Saturday 9-5, and Sunday 1-6. The library of the Cleveland Museum of Art contains 2,000 volumes on Egyptological subjects. Although not open to the public, we can easily arrange for any ARCE member to use it. The library is open weekdays from 10-5:40, Saturday 9-4:40, and Sunday 1-5:40.

One of the finest and least known Egyptological resources in the United States is a part of the Cleveland Public Library, the third largest public library system in this country. The John G. White Collection of Folklore, Orientalia, and Chess is housed on the third floor of the main library building. Mr. White, a noted Cleveland attorney, collected books and objects relating to the three areas listed above and donated them to the library from 1880-1928. The Orientalia section, largely defined, includes 5,000 volumes of research material on Egyptian antiquities and philological studies. It is especially strong in French, British, and German series and excavation reports. The library is open Monday through Saturday from 9-6. Stacks in the White Collection are closed. An ID (of any nature) is required to use books anywhere in the library, and the White Collection books may be used in the Collection room only.

Arielle P. Kozloff  
Curator of Ancient Art  
The Cleveland Museum of Art



HAP-ΙY'S LADY MUSICIANS. Limestone. Dynasty XXX, ca. 2nd half 4th c. B.C.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic  
Trust. Acc. No. 14.542



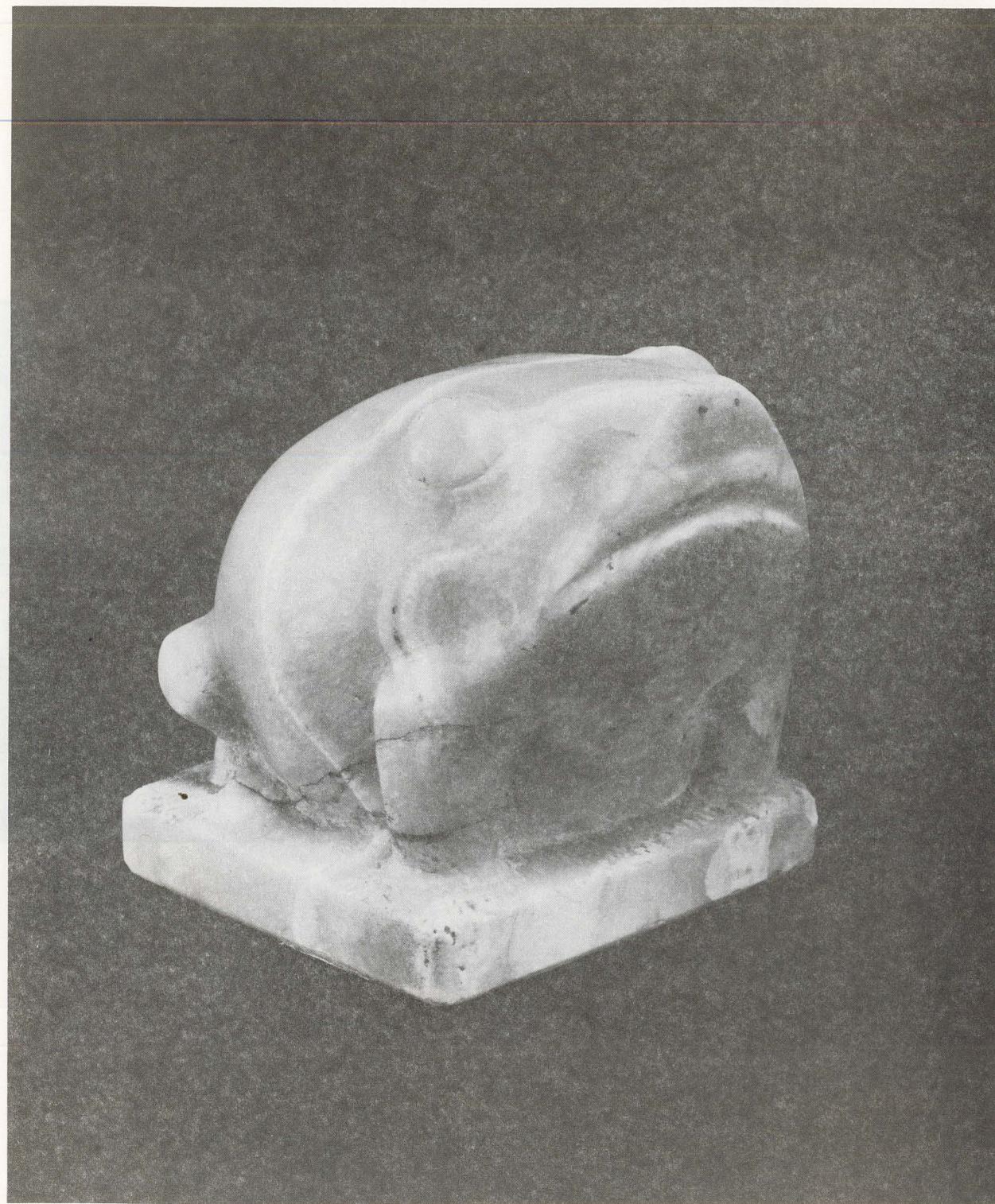
TORSO OF AMUN-PE-YOM. Gray Granite. Ptolemaic Period, ca. 280-250 B.C.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Gift of Hanna Fund. Acc. No. 48.141.



HEAD OF AMENHOTEP III. Rose quartzite. Dynasty XVIII, ca. 1387 B.C. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Bequest. Acc. No. 61.417.



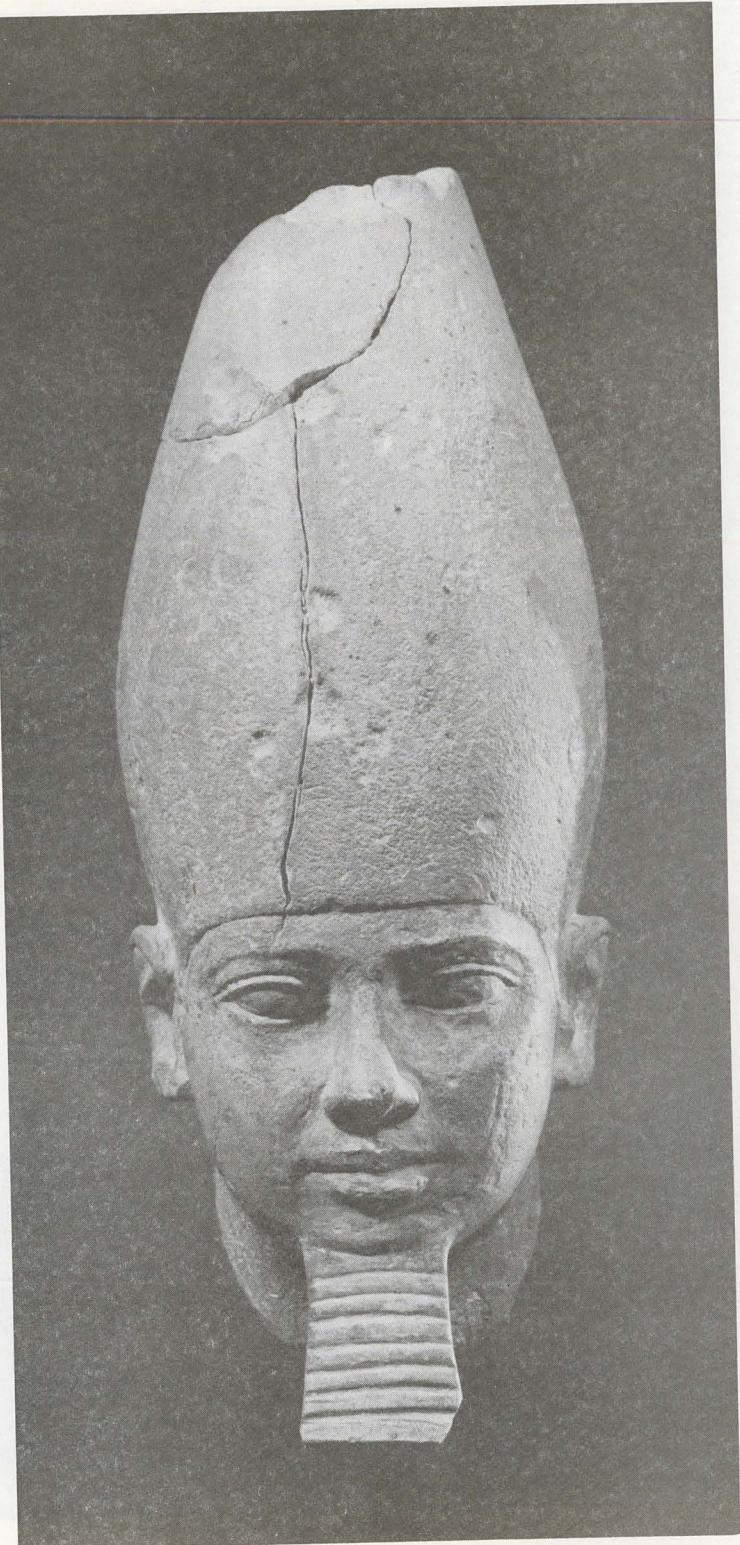
NOME GODS BEARING OFFERINGS. Painted limestone. Late Dynasty XVIII, ca. 1390 B.C. Reign of Amenhotep III. The Cleveland Museum of Art. John L. Severance Fund. Acc. No. 61.205, 76.51.



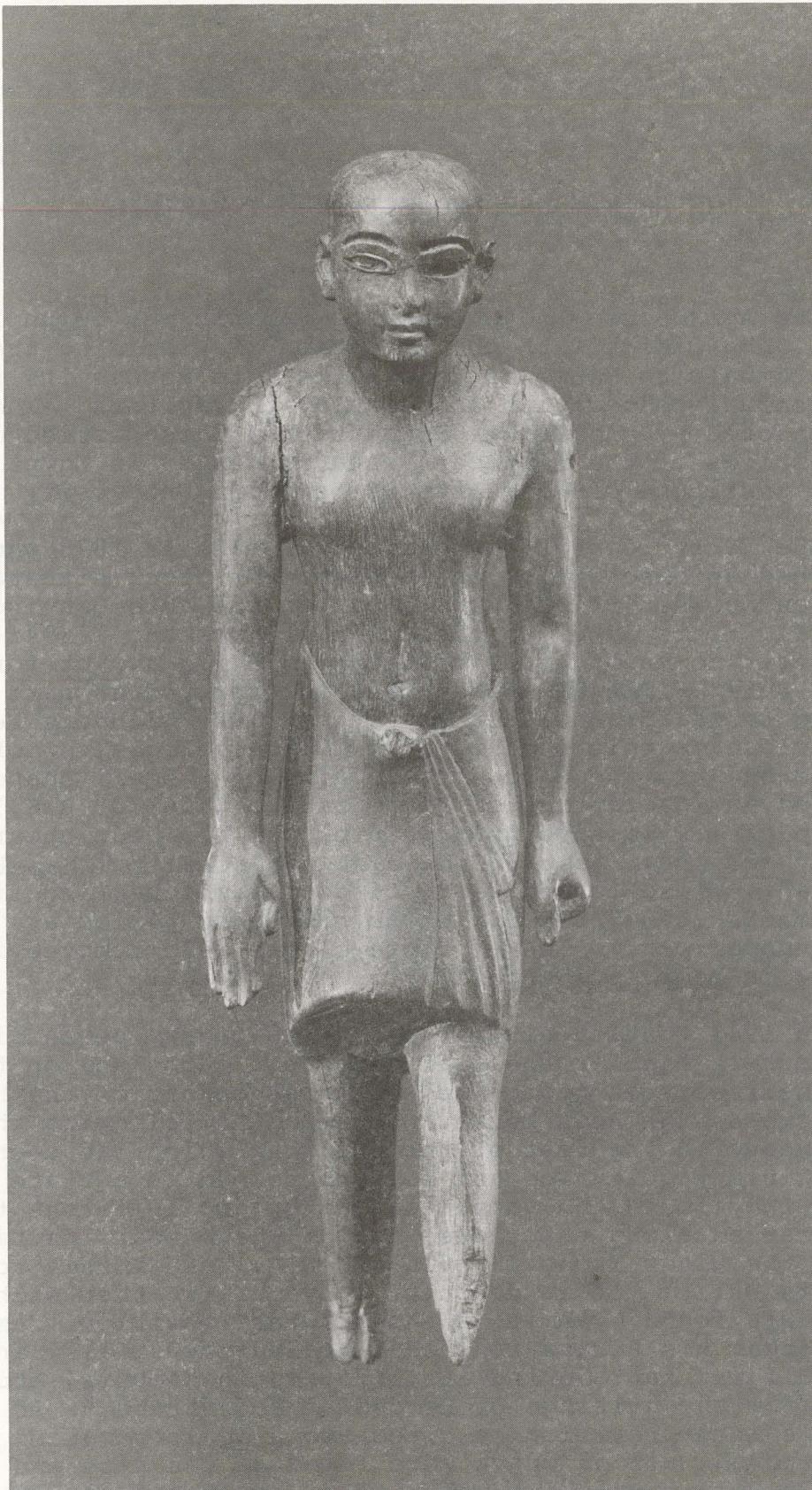
FROG STATUE OF HEQAT. Calcite alabaster. Early Dynastic (Dynasty 0-Dynasty II) 3100-2700 B.C. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase, Andrew R. and Martha Holden Jennings Fund. Acc. No. 76.5.



FIGURE OF HARPOCRATES. Bronze. ca. 1st century B.C. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund. Acc. No. 72.6.



HEAD OF A KING (WESERKAF). Limestone. Old Kingdom, Dynasty V, ca. 2490 B.C.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Bequest.  
Acc. No. 79.2.



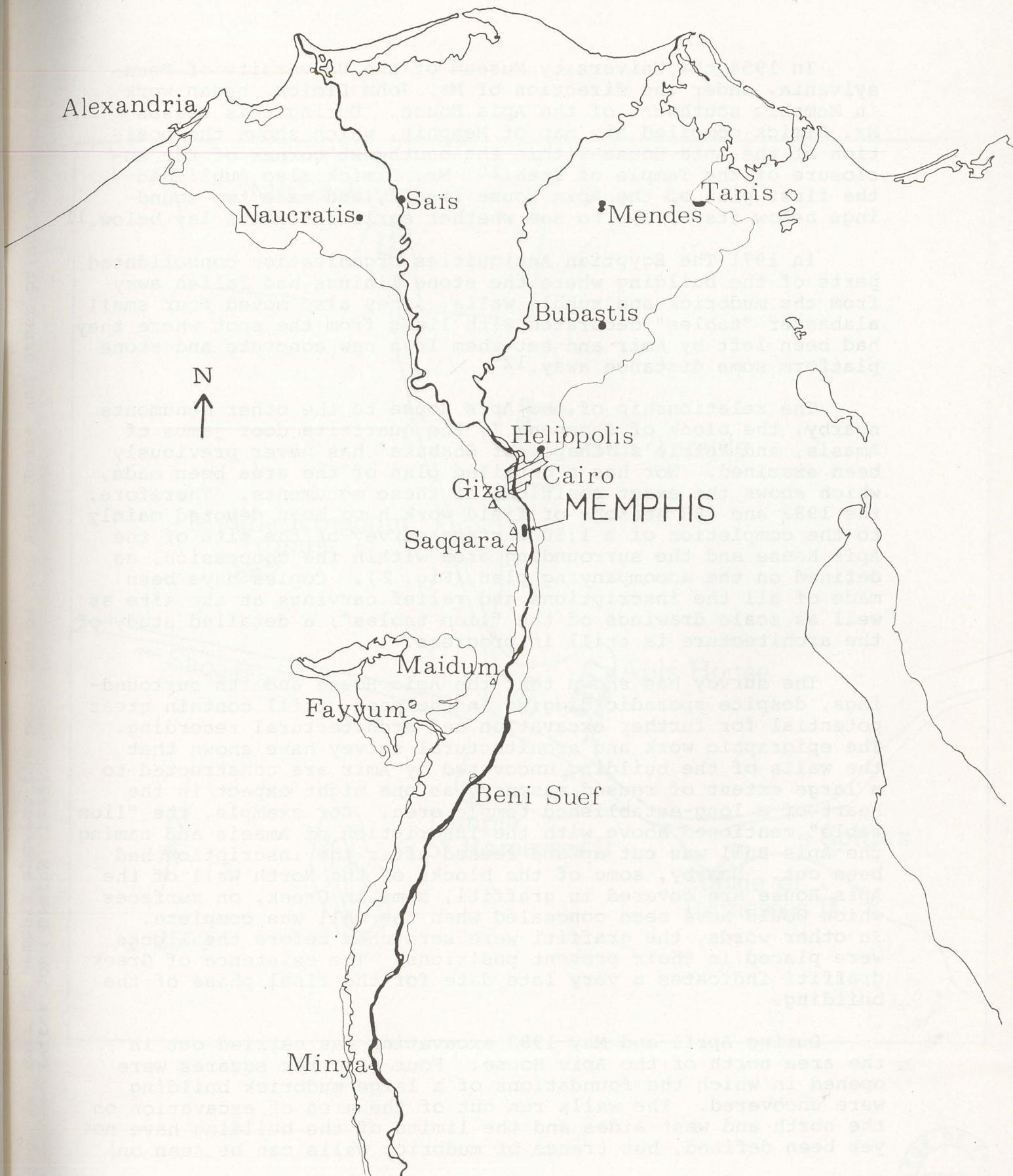
WOOD STATUETTE OF A MAN. Ebony or yew, inlaid with glass. Dynasty XVIII,  
reign of Amenhotep III. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the  
J. H. Wade Fund. Acc. No. 83.98.

## THE APIS HOUSE PROJECT IN MIT RAHINEH

The Apis House Project at Mit Rahineh was begun in 1981 by Mr. John Dimick with the intention of examining the well known "Embalming House of Apis Bulls"<sup>1</sup> to assess its potential for eventual restoration and display to visitors. The Project is sponsored by the Dimick Foundation and is carried out under the auspices of the American Research Center in Egypt on behalf of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University.

The first record of the site was made in 1878 when H. Brugsch published an inscription on an alabaster block situated in the southeast corner of the area shown on the accompanying map<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1). This dates to the reign of Shoshenq I (945-924 B.C.) and refers to an order of the king to build a w<sup>c</sup>bt for "his father Osiris Apis". The block has been interpreted as part of an embalming table for the Apis Bull.<sup>3</sup> In 1908 Flinders Petrie excavated close to this same block and discovered a row of Ramesside columns and, to the west, the remains of a small chapel in which he found an inscription of King Shabako (716-702 B.C.)<sup>4</sup> By 1914, a group of six massive quartzite blocks had been unearthed, probably by sebak hin, just to the east of Petrie's "Chapel of Shabaka". These formed parts of door jambs bearing figures of King Amasis (570-526 B.C.) whose names and titles are inscribed on the upper part. Two of these blocks were removed in 1914 and are now in Memphis, Tennessee.<sup>5</sup>

In 1941 Mustafa el-Amir and Ahmed Badawy began digging about fifty meters east of the quartzite door jambs and on the second day, their workmen found the northeast corner of the building now known as the Apis House.<sup>6</sup> During the following three months, they uncovered the rest of the building which had been badly ruined in antiquity and had been abandoned in a state of ruin. In it, they found the famous alabaster and limestone tables with lions carved along the sides; two of these bear inscriptions naming the kings Necho II (610-595 B.C.) and Amasis together with the Apis Bull.<sup>7</sup> It is doubtful, however, whether either of these blocks was found by Amir in its original position. Amir suggested that his excavation had revealed the "Stall" in which the Apis Bull was kept during its lifetime in Memphis, and which is known from the writings of Herodotus and Strabo.<sup>8</sup> As evidence for this interpretation he cites two alabaster basins and a limestone trough, all of which were found at the site and from which the Apis Bull might have been fed. One of the alabaster vessels is inscribed with a text dated to year 34 of Darius I (488 B.C.). It also gives a record of its capacity--72 hnw.<sup>9</sup>



In 1954 the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, under the direction of Mr. John Dimick, began work in Memphis southwest of the Apis House. During this season Mr. Dimick compiled his map of Memphis, which shows the position of the Apis House within the southwest corner of the enclosure of the Temple of Ptah.<sup>10</sup> Mr. Dimick also published the first plan of the Apis House itself, and made two soundings below its floors to see whether earlier remains lay below.<sup>11</sup>

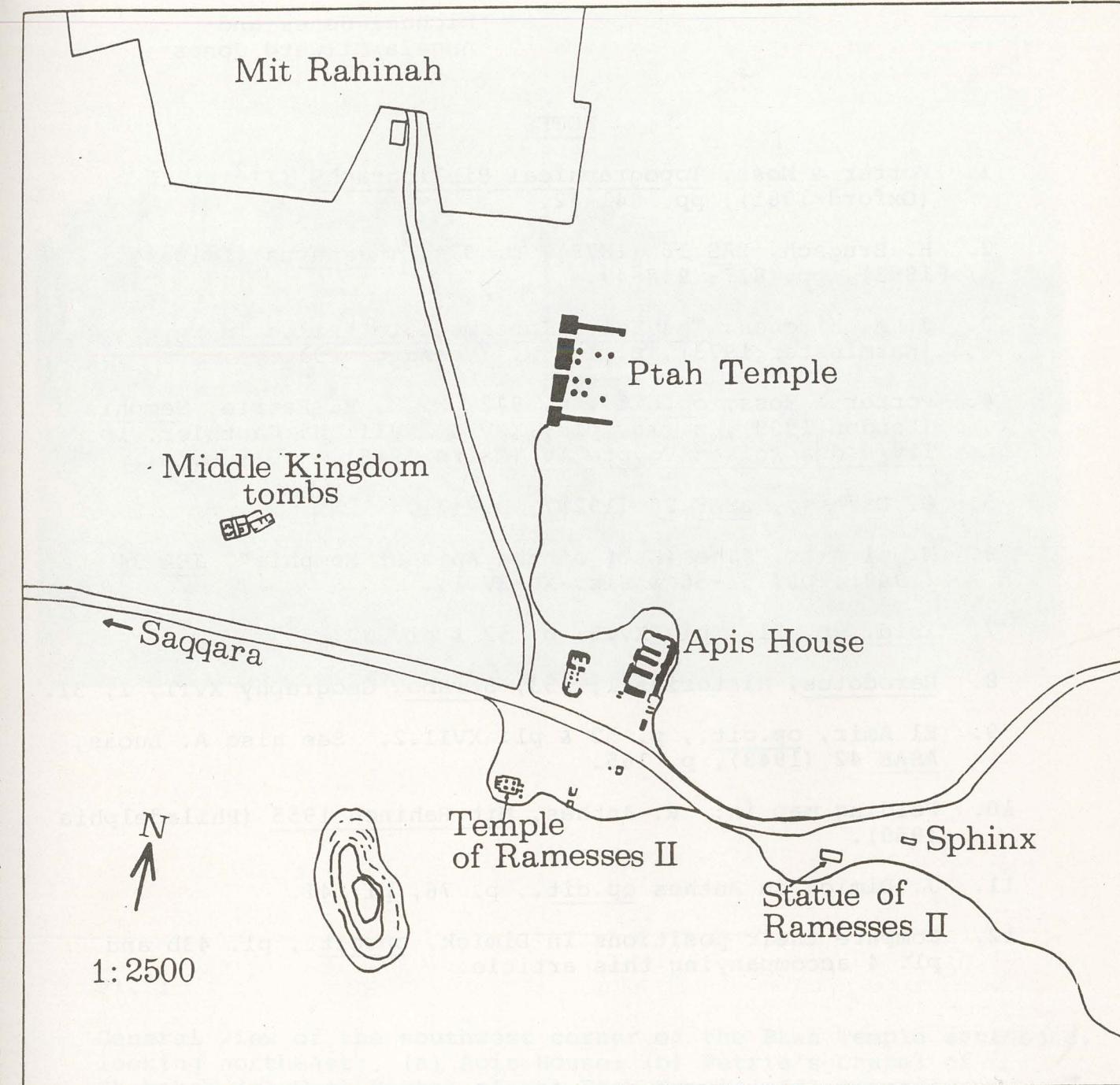
In 1971 The Egyptian Antiquities Organization consolidated parts of the building where the stone linings had fallen away from the mudbrick and rubble walls. They also moved four small alabaster "tables" decorated with lions from the spot where they had been left by Amir and set them in a new concrete and stone platform some distance away.<sup>12</sup>

The relationship of the Apis House to the other monuments nearby, the block of Shosheng I, the quartzite door jambs of Amasis, and Petrie's "Chapel of Shabaka" has never previously been examined. Nor has a detailed plan of the area been made, which shows the exact positions of these monuments. Therefore, the 1982 and '83 seasons of field work have been devoted mainly to the completion of a 1:50 surface survey of the site of the Apis House and the surrounding area within the concession, as defined on the accompanying plan (Fig. 2). Copies have been made of all the inscriptions and relief carvings at the site as well as scale drawings of the "lion tables"; a detailed study of the architecture is still in progress.

The survey has shown that the Apis House and its surroundings, despite sporadic digging in the past, still contain great potential for further excavation and architectural recording. The epigraphic work and architectural survey have shown that the walls of the building uncovered by Amir are constructed to a large extent of reused masonry, as one might expect in the heart of a long-established temple area. For example, the "lion table" mentioned above with the inscription of Amasis and naming the Apis Bull was cut up and reused after the inscription had been cut. Nearby, some of the blocks of the North Wall of the Apis House are covered in graffiti, some in Greek, on surfaces which would have been concealed when the wall was complete. In other words, the graffiti were scratched before the blocks were placed in their present positions. The existence of Greek graffiti indicates a very late date for the final phase of the building.

During April and May 1983 excavation was carried out in the area north of the Apis House. Four 10-meter squares were opened in which the foundations of a large mudbrick building were uncovered. The walls run out of the area of excavation on the north and west sides and the limits of the building have not yet been defined, but traces of mudbrick walls can be seen on

Fig. 2. Part of Memphis showing the position of the Apis House and other principal monuments  
(After John Dimick, 1955)



the ground surface west of the excavated area and may link up, thus forming the foundation for a massive building into which the present Apis House was built.

Michael Jones and  
Angela Milward Jones

NOTES

1. Porter & Moss, Topographical Bibliography III<sup>2</sup> pt. 2 (Oxford 1981), pp. 841-42.
2. H. Brugsch, ZAS 16 (1878), p. 37f; Thesaurus (Leipzig 1883), pp. 817, 948-49.
3. K. A. Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, (Warminster 1973), p. 189 n. 7, and p. 291.
4. Porter & Moss, op.cit., p. 842; W. M. F. Petrie, Memphis I (London 1909), p. 10, pls. XXV & XXVII; H. Gauthier, Le livre des rois d'Egypte IV (Cairo 1916), p. 16 n. 4.
5. G. Daressy, ASAE 20 (1920), p. 171.
6. M. el Amir, "The {HKO} of the Apis at Memphis", JEA 34 (1948), pp. 51-56 & Pls. XV-XVII.
7. Ibid., p. 51 & pl. XV.5; p. 52 & pl. XVI.5.
8. Herodotus, Histories I, 153; Strabo, Geography XVII, 1, 31.
9. El Amir, op.cit., p. 52 & pl. XVII.2. See also A. Lucas, ASAE 42 (1943), p. 165.
10. Folding map in: R. Anthes, Mit Rahineh 1955 (Philadelphia 1959).
11. J. Dimick in Anthes op.cit., p. 76, pl. 41.
12. Compare their positions in Dimick, op.cit., pl. 43b and pl. 4 accompanying this article.



Pl. 1

General view of the southwest corner of the Ptah Temple enclosure, looking northeast: (a) Apis House; (b) Petrie's Chapel of Shabaka; (c) West Portal of the Ptah Temple; (d) Pennsylvania excavations, 1956.





Pl. 2

General view looking east, showing the Apis House in its setting.  
 (a) Apis House; (b) Petrie's Chapel of Shabaka; (c) XXII<sup>th</sup> Dy-  
 nasty tombs; (d) small temple of Ptah built by Ramesses II;  
 (e) shrine of Ptah and two goddesses built by Sethi I, and now  
 lifted above the water-table.



Pl. 3

Area south of the Apis House looking southwest. The inscribed calcite blocks of Ramesses II and Shosheng I are in the lower left corner, and a chapel of Sethi I below the tree south of the road.

## RECENT FIELDWORK AT HIERAKONPOLIS



Pl. 4

North part of the Apis House looking northwest, showing, from the left, Room C with Table 5, Room B, Room A with the re-erected small "lion-tables" and Table 4 at the nearer end. Outlines of mudbrick walls are visible to the north.

The sixth consecutive field season at Hierakonpolis and the eighth since the project began in 1967 lasted from November 1982 through March 1983. Our primary goal was to expand our knowledge of regional Predynastic settlement patterns first, by a reconnaissance of the cultivation north and south of Hierakonpolis and second, by a systematic surface collection of known desert sites in the core of our concession.

Harlan began the season with an archaeological reconnaissance of the cultivated area on the west bank of the Nile between El Mamariyah in the north and El Saiayda in the south. This area constitutes a natural alluvial embayment 10-kilometers long. The Archaic-Old Kingdom town of Hierakonpolis and the large Predynastic settlement complex that lies adjacent to the town in the low desert sit at the apex of this embayment. The reconnaissance team walked along major canals and examined the exposed areas along their banks for artifacts thrown up during excavation and dredging operations. Plowed fields between the desert and Dynastic town site were also covered systematically by walking a series of evenly spaced (ca. five meters) transects. When artifacts were found, their positions were plotted on a regional map (scale 1:25,000). A site survey form was then filled out to provide comparable information on each area and the artifacts discovered. When concentrations of artifacts were encountered, more intensive testing was undertaken. Three-by-three meter test squares were laid out and all cultural material on the surface inside the squares was collected and analyzed. A special search was then made for chronologically diagnostic artifacts outside the test square area.

The valley reconnaissance covered approximately 40 kilometers of irrigation canals between El Mamariya and El Saiayda and located nine sites. As expected, finds were chronologically mixed, including potsherds from virtually every period of Egyptian history. Generally, sherds were scattered lightly on the surface. Along only two canals near the Archaic-Old Kingdom town site were concentrations of artifacts great enough to justify further testing. These localities had been noted previously by Fairservis. At both sites, three 3x3 meter test squares were placed over areas with exposed artifact concentrations. A kiln (possibly dating to the Late Period) was discovered along one canal and Predynastic sherds were recovered in large numbers from both canals. The significance of this discovery is that it extends the boundary of Predynastic occupation from the low desert into the modern Nile Valley and suggests that, even in Predynastic times, the area of the Archaic-Old Kingdom town was a focal point for settlement.

The discovery also demonstrates that subsurface Predynastic remains in the Nile Valley are traceable along at least some modern irrigation canals.

In earlier seasons, the expedition staff mapped an area of dense Predynastic settlement in the low desert at Hierakonpolis. This is widely acknowledged to be the largest Predynastic settlement complex in Egypt. The goal of Harlan's 1982-83 survey was to sample several of these settlements systematically to more accurately determine their age, duration of occupation, size, internal variation and comparative function.

Five sites were selected for testing: Localities 22, 29A, 34, 3, and 33. These included sites from both the Early and Late Predynastic periods (i.e., Amratian or Naqada I and Gerzean or Naqada II). They were spatially diverse, including localities both in the low desert and along the Wadi Abu Suffian, and they were functionally diverse with kilns and various settlements. We considered a surface sample an adequate method for collecting data on these sites given the considerable quantity of surface materials and the essential absence of deposition. Furthermore, excavations carried out in previous seasons (1978 and 1979) gave us an understanding of the subsurface nature of settlements and allowed us to describe sites in detail from their surface remains alone. To obtain a representative sample of artifacts a 10-meter grid system was established at each site. Within each 10-meter square a single one-meter unit was selected randomly for sampling. A 100% sample of surface material was collected from each one-meter sample square. Thus a 1% stratified random areal sample was collected at each site. In addition to the random sample a non-random sample of diagnostic artifacts was collected principally to assist in dating the sites.

At Locality 22, 210 one-meter squares were sampled. The size of this site (ca. 20,000 square meters) necessitated sampling a large area. Preliminarily, Locality 22 can be dated to the Early Predynastic period (based on prevalent ware types and vessel forms). Several functional areas were delimited, including flint tool knapping areas, a pottery kiln, the edge of a Predynastic cemetery, and deflated habitation areas. Locality 22 thus appears to have included a range of activities, but given its location and the artifact types discovered the main pursuit at the site would have been agriculture in the Nile Valley and perhaps along the edge of the desert.

At Locality 29A, 60 one-meter squares were sampled. The smaller sample here (compared to Locality 22) was necessary and yet sufficient due to the extremely dense surface remains (e.g., in several one-meter squares over 500 potsherds were recovered). The surface at Locality 29A revealed kilns in an area of dense artifact deposits. The density of the surface remains here and elsewhere in the low desert at Hierakonpolis appears to reflect more the type of activity pursued (e.g., pottery production) than the length of occupation. Another explanation, one with

parallels at contemporary Ballas, is the Predynastic use of surplus or unsuccessfully fired pots in domestic architecture. In addition to the kilns at Locality 29A, an area with a large amount of polished stone was discovered. Most of the pieces were bowl fragments of a Late Predynastic date and suggest a specialized industrial area.

At Locality 34, 20 one-meter squares were sampled. Again, due to the high density of surface artifacts, we thought this a sufficiently large sample to reconstruct activities and chronology at the site. Here an abundance of sandstone cobbles along remnant walls indicated different building techniques from those observed at Locality 29A. The materials sampled at Locality 34 indicate a settlement site that perhaps was occupied for an extensive time (i.e., Early through Late Predynastic period). A preliminary analysis of artifacts from the site reveals the presence of ceramic and stone industries. The architectural remains betoken rather elaborate dwellings, perhaps the houses of a local Predynastic elite.

At Locality 3, 30 one-meter squares were sampled from a 10-meter grid covering the entire site. In addition, several non-random one-meter squares were sampled and diagnostic sherds outside the one-meter sample squares were collected. Locality 3 is of special interest to the study of settlements at Hierakonpolis because, lying three kilometers from the present cultivation, it marks the farthest extent of Predynastic settlement up the Wadi Abu Suffian. On the surface of Locality 3 are numerous large stones arranged in rough circles. Seventeen of these circles were noted, examined, and mapped. Elsewhere, we have interpreted these features as hut or tent circles (see The Predynastic at Hierakonpolis: an interim report, M. A. Hoffman, ed., 1982), however, this year's study may require us to modify this interpretation. The sample collected at Locality 3 contained a singularly high percentage of Plum Red Ware, a small amount of chipped stone, virtually no animal bone, and no additional settlement features (e.g., no trash mounds). These data suggest Locality 3 may be associated with the earliest tombs at Locality 6, the Predynastic/Protodynastic cemetery in the Wadi Abu Suffian. Nonetheless, further analyses are needed before a definitive account of Locality 3 is possible.

In the final locality sampled, L33, nine randomly selected one-meter squares were examined. Additionally, a non-random collection of diagnostic artifacts was made. The sample grid at Locality 33 was located over a group of kilns to provide data on the Predynastic pottery industry at Hierakonpolis. The kilns at Locality 33 are agglutinated, small circular structures. Heavy disturbance around the kilns prevents a detailed reconstruction of their design and number. However, using excavated kilns at Hierakonpolis as models, we believe the kilns at Locality 33 were simple, round or oval pit kilns. Further, given their agglomerated arrangement and number (perhaps a dozen or more) they reinforce our earlier observation that large-scale pottery

production was undertaken at Hierakonpolis. The date of the kilns at this site is not yet firmly established, but, most of the wares and forms appear to be transitional (i.e., Early to Late Predynastic).

During March of 1983, Hoffman concentrated on five objectives: (1) joint field checking of sampled sites with Harlan; (2) initiation of a photographic survey of the Hierakonpolis region duplicating that undertaken by Harry Burton of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1934-35; (3) field checking of previous maps and drawings; (4) assisting Trad in completing her studies of the local toponymy; and (5) planning logistics and refining objectives for the 1984 season.

Harlan has summarized already the methods used in his Predynastic surface survey. Joint field operations focused on mapping, sampling techniques, pottery typology and the choice of a Late Predynastic (Gerzean) settlement for future excavation. We plan to systematically excavate habitation and industrial areas of Late Predynastic date and to compare the internal settlement patterns of this period to those of Early Predynastic (Amratian) times known from our previous excavations at Localities 29 and 11. Inspection of surface collections made this season confirmed earlier observations that ornamental ground-stone artifacts such as maceheads and vases were produced at Hierakonpolis in definable workshops. This reinforces the impression that the site was an important industrial and trading center in, at least, Early Predynastic times.

In 1934-35 Harry Burton, working for Ambrose Lansing's Metropolitan Museum of Art's expedition to Hierakonpolis, photographed extensively the Second Dynasty Fort of Khasekhemui (ca. 2750 B.C.) and several Predynastic desert sites. His photographs constitute an important document against which we can: (1) assess the historical impact of earlier excavations; (2) measure micro-erosional change in the low desert; and (3) document the condition of the Fort nearly 50 years ago. Thanks to a cooperative exchange of information with the Department of Egyptology of the Metropolitan Museum of Art our expedition was given copies of relevant Burton photographs. This season a duplicate series was made to update those pictures, using panchromatic film, a 35mm wide angle Summaron lens and a 35mm format Leica IIIf camera. The resulting photographs will be used by expedition geomorphologists to measure rates of erosion and by our archaeological and architectural staff to plan stabilization and restoration of the Fort--one of Egypt's oldest standing monuments.

As part of our ongoing revision of previous work, a number of earlier field drawings and maps were checked and redrawn. A survey of local place names under expedition toponymist May Trad was completed for the area around the core of our concession. Staff discussions underlined the need to establish a direct vertical stratigraphy for Predynastic sites in our region and led to the outlining of excavation objectives for the 1984 season.

This report is based on preliminary analyses of data collected in the 1982-83 field season at Hierakonpolis. Further analyses and work with these data are underway.

J. Fred Harlan  
ARCE Fellow  
1982-83  
(Funded by the Smithsonian Institution)

Michael A. Hoffman  
Director  
Hierakonpolis Expedition,  
1982-83

NOTE: The 1982-83 field season could not have been carried out without the generous assistance of Ms. Renee Friedman, Ms. May Trad, Mr. Mohammed Ibrahim Aly, Mr. Mohammed Abdulla Mohammed, Dr. Lanny Bell and Chicago House, the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, and the American Research Center in Egypt. We are most grateful to all for their help.

## THE NAUKRATIS PROJECT, 1983

Although the 1983 season was primarily intended as a study season, some limited excavation and survey did take place to complete the work at Naukratis (Kom Ge'if), Kom Firin, and Kom Dahab. At Naukratis itself, four small probes were placed in the structure, now called the Northwest Building, lying in squares 490-491 of the South Mound. The purpose of these probes was to clarify certain aspects of the internal phasing in the structure. In summary, it can be determined that there are six architectural phases which belong to the Northwest Building. All phases are Ptolemaic, but a more detailed study of the pottery and other finds associated with the structure should indicate more precisely the dating of the various phases and should provide a detailed chronology for the South Mound, and, in general, for the southern portion of the ancient city of Naukratis.

The work at Kom Firin (Fig. 1) consisted of the excavation of two kilns (A and B) located approximately 160 m. NE of the archaeological rest house (Fig. 2). Portions of the northernmost kiln (A) were visible on the surface and, indeed, had been observed during the preliminary survey of the site in the winter of 1977-78. It was decided to excavate at least one, and perhaps both, kilns with the hope that they would provide compara randa to the somewhat larger structure at the neighboring site of Kom Dahab. Kiln A (Fig. 3) is the better preserved of the two. It was built upon a sterile sandy layer and consists of three components: reducing chamber, transitional tunnel, and stoking chamber. The reducing chamber is ovoid in shape, measuring 1.80 m. along its long axis and 1.40 m. in width (exterior dimensions). A corbel vaulted transitional tunnel, approximately 0.50 m. in length, connects the reducing chamber to the stoking area (Fig. 3). This latter chamber simply consists of two parallel walls of fired bricks which extend 1.70 m. to the south, forming a fairly narrow area 0.90 m. in width. The southern limit of these walls incorporates the top of an earlier mudbrick wall, but, unfortunately, the founding levels of this structure, where explored, contained no diagnostic or datable pottery with which to provide a terminus post quem for the kiln.

The interior of the reducing chamber was filled with several depositional strata, of which the lowest was a soft, sandy soil covering the floor. On top of this was a layer of mudbrick detritus mixed with small fragments of kiln waste. In the center of the chamber were very large pieces of kiln waste, some measuring 0.70 x 0.70 m. in size, surrounded by rain-washed soils. Above this stratum, and partially mixed with it, was a layer of

lime. The thickest deposit of lime, however, was uncovered in the transitional tunnel where it was approximately 0.45 m. thick. The remainder of the interior of the reducing chamber was filled with building debris.

The presence of lime within the structure, of course, indicates that it was used as a lime kiln, as was Kiln B, situated some 20 m. to the southwest. The latter kiln is less well preserved than its counterpart but appears to have the same plan, although the stoking chamber is located on its southwest side. The pottery associated with both structures belongs to the second and third centuries A.D. and indicates the period of use of the kilns. Kiln waste can be found on the surface in the area immediately surrounding the structures, and the nature of its intensity suggests that there are other kilns nearby and that this was the area of lime slaking at Kom Firin in antiquity. Although used for lime and not for pottery, as the larger example at Kom Dahab, the Kom Firin kilns do provide evidence for industrial activity in the area and add further examples to the lime kilns already discovered at Tell el-Fara'in and the Dakhleh Oasis.

The small site of Kom Dahab ("Mound of Gold") is located approximately 0.5 km. southeast of Kom Firin (Fig. 1) and was once probably an industrial quarter of that large city. Work began at Kom Dahab in 1980, when an intensive surface collection was carried out in order to test various strategies for sampling the surfaces of similar small archaeological sites.<sup>2</sup> The central undisturbed portion of the site was divided into 10x10 m. grids, and all of the surface material was collected. A study of the distribution patterns of the various categories of surface finds indicated that the greatest concentration of furnace products, or vitrified remnants of the inside of the furnace chamber of a kiln, was along the east edge of the mound. Fragments of amphorae, the most common vessel shape found at the site, were also larger here than elsewhere. This evidence led us to suggest that an ancient kiln might have been located at the east end of the mound.<sup>3</sup> A small 2x2 m. trial trench excavated in grid D9 during the 1981 season failed to locate the kiln but did produce a large number of amphora fragments, many wasters or misfired sherds, portions of mudbricks which had been partially fired, numerous furnace products, and much dark sand and ash. Unfired amphora fragments from vessels similar in shape to those recovered from our excavations further confirmed the theory that a kiln had once been located here.

Based on the evidence both from the surface collection and from the trial excavations, a proton magnetometer survey was conducted at one-meter intervals over the eastern portion of the site in an attempt to pinpoint the exact location of the kiln.<sup>4</sup> Near the southeast corner of the mound in grid E11, a strong anomaly was detected. A 2x2 m. test trench centered over the anomaly soon revealed a circular line, 0.10 m. thick, of baked mudbrick later identified as the inner face of the kiln wall.

Approximately 0.90 m. below the surface, the first partially intact vessels were encountered inside the kiln. There were mainly amphorae of the type found previously both in the surface survey and in the trial trench in grid D9, although fragments of collared jars were also quite numerous.

In the summer of 1983, we decided to explore the remainder of the kiln,<sup>5</sup> although the season had been designated as one for study rather than excavation and our time and staff were limited. In design the kiln was found to be a circular updraught kiln (Fig. 4) with a lower furnace chamber and an upper firing chamber similar to those known both from elsewhere in the ancient world and from many modern villages in the region. For example, a series of such kilns has been excavated in Ptolemaic and early Roman levels at Tell el-Fara'in,<sup>6</sup> while in Nubia about two dozen similar kilns have been excavated in the Meroitic, X-Group, and Christian levels at eight different sites.<sup>7</sup> Similar modern kilns have been documented throughout the Mediterranean<sup>8</sup> and Egypt,<sup>9</sup> and, in fact, we have undertaken a study of fourteen such kilns still in use in the nearby village of Gazayer Isa (Fig. 5), which is located a short distance to the east of Kom Dahab, north of the modern city of Dilingat (Fig. 1).

At Kom Dahab, as at Gazayer Isa, the lower furnace chamber of the kiln was dug below ground level. Limited excavations to the south and east of the kiln reached a level of mudbrick detritus at approximately 6.30 ASL which may have formed the original surface prior to the construction of the kiln. Above this layer of mudbrick detritus was a thick layer of loose sand and ash which contained a large number of furnace products and many amphora fragments of the types found both within the kiln and elsewhere on the site, clearly representing debris from the operation of the kiln.

Due to encroaching ground water, it was necessary to cease excavation inside the furnace chamber at 3.80 ASL without reaching either the floor or the base of the wall, but it is clear that the floor of the furnace chamber must have been at least 2.50 m. below the original ground level.<sup>10</sup> The furnace chamber was not preserved in its entirety, as the upper portion of its dome had collapsed, but it once must have stood more than 2.10 m. high.<sup>11</sup> To judge from the vast number of poorly and partially fired amphora fragments found inside the furnace chamber, the collapse of the dome must have taken place during the firing of these vessels.<sup>12</sup> The upper portion of the dome which projected into the firing chamber well above floor level currently is preserved to a height of 0.35 m. above the floor.<sup>13</sup> The interior diameter of the furnace chamber could not be measured, as it was impossible to clear the entire chamber without risking collapse of the remaining portion of the dome. The upper preserved portion of the dome, however, has a diameter of approximately 2.0 m. so presumably the furnace chamber would have been somewhat larger at the base of the wall.<sup>14</sup>

The date of the kiln seems to be late Ptolemaic based both on the pottery (Fig. 6) and on a coin found in the debris which accumulated after the dome of the furnace chamber collapsed. With the exception of the pottery in the lower part of the furnace chamber, therefore, the dates derived from the pottery and from the coin represent the time during which the kiln was used as a dump. The coin, which is made of copper, weighs 6.30 grams and is 0.02 m. in diameter. On the obverse the diademed head of Zeus Ammon is depicted facing right, and on the reverse there are two eagles facing left; it should probably belong to the reign of Ptolemy X.<sup>15</sup>

The only intact vessel to be recovered from the kiln, a lagynos with an angular body (Ell.92; Fig. 6), was found on top of the collapsed wall of the furnace chamber at an elevation of 6.03 ASL. It was incompletely fired and has a crack in its handle. At Athens, lagynoi have been recovered from contexts as early as the end of the third century B.C. and as late as the middle of the first century B.C., but were most popular during the second half of the second century B.C.<sup>16</sup> Although lagynoi occur in a variety of forms, from squat to round to angular, it seems that shape is of little or no significance as a chronological indicator,<sup>17</sup> so our example probably cannot be dated more closely than the second half of the Ptolemaic period.

Other activities of the 1983 season included a program of core drilling at Naukratis and its environs in an attempt to determine the stratigraphy of the city below the present water table and to find the location of the ancient Canopic branch of the Nile near which Naukratis was supposed to have been situated. The regional survey concluded with the addition of the last few sites to the gazeteer. The most impressive of these is Kom el-Baqar (Fig. 7) which was once a large area but is now represented by a low sandy mound pockmarked by depressions caused by the digging of the sebakhin. The lemon groves and fields to the north and northwest of the mound have encroached upon the limits of the site. Such encroachment from both settlement and cultivation is widespread in the western Delta and provides a strong rationale for the descriptions of site preservation that have been compiled by the Naukratis Project.

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NOTES

1. The 1983 season was sponsored by a matching grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities with matching funds provided in part by RCA and the 3H Company in California, and other monies, by the University of Minnesota and Gustavus Adolphus College. The field supervisor at Kom Firin was James Rehard, assisted by James Contursi, Laura Lewis, Laura Paulson, and Denise Provost.
2. For preliminary results of this study, cf. Nancy Wilkie, "Kom Dahab", in W. D. E. Coulson and A. Leonard, Jr., Cities of the Delta I, Naukratis (Malibu 1981) 73-77.
3. Ibid. 75.
4. A preliminary report of the results of this survey and of the trial excavation which followed can be found in William Coulson, Albert Leonard, Jr., and Nancy Wilkie, "Three Seasons of Excavations and Survey at Naukratis and Environs", JARCE 20 (1984) forthcoming.
5. As in past years, Nancy C. Wilkie supervised the work at Kom Dahab. She was assisted in 1983 by Lisa Greenberg, a student at Carleton College.
6. D. Charlesworth, "The Industrial Area", in M. V. Seton-Williams, "The Tell el-Fara'in Expedition, 1967", JEA 53 (1967) 149-155, and D. Charlesworth, "Tell el-Fara'in: The Industrial Site, 1968", JEA 55 (1969) 23-30.
7. William Y. Adams, "The Christian Potteries at Faras", Kush 9 (1961) 30-43, and "Pottery Kiln Excavations", Kush 10 (1962) 62-75.
8. Cf. Roland Hampe and Adam Winter, Bei Töpfern und Töpferrinnen in Kreta, Messenien und Zypern (Mainz 1962) and Bei Töpfern und Zieglern in Suditalien, Sizilien und Griechenland (Mainz 1965).
9. W. S. Blackman, The Fellahin of Upper Egypt (London 1927) 148.
10. This is in contrast to the kilns from Debeira East whose furnace chambers were dug approximately 1.0 m. below ground level. Cf. Adams, Kush 10 (supra n. 7) 66.
11. At Debeira East the furnace chambers of the best preserved kilns were 1.15, 1.25 and 1.80 m. high. Ibid. 68.
12. Cf. Kiln 4 at Faras which had partially collapsed during the firing operation, depositing part of the floor and a very large number of vessels directly in the furnace chamber. William Y. Adams, Ceramic Industries of Medieval Nubia,

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Sudanese Nubia (University of Kentucky Press) forthcoming. We are grateful to Professor Adams for the opportunity to consult this work in manuscript form.

13. Kiln 2 at Tell el-Fara'in also must have had this configuration. Cf. Charlesworth, JEA 53 (supra n. 6) Pl. 28.1. The Nubian kilns, on the other hand, all seem to have had level floors built over the top of the lower furnace chamber. Adams, Kush 9 (supra. n. 7) 37 and 38, Fig. 3.
14. Cf. Kiln 2 at Tell el-Fara'in which is similar in size and plan to the kiln at Kom Dahab. Charlesworth, JEA 53 (supra. n. 6) 152.
15. Cf. R. S. Poole, A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt (London 1883) 105, no. 5, Pl. 26.3. Further study is needed, however, before the exact date of the coin can be determined.
16. Homer A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery", Hesperia 3 (1934) 451. For a lagynos similar in shape to the one under discussion cf. no. E 72, pp. 403-405 and Fig. 92, p. 404.
17. Ibid. 450.

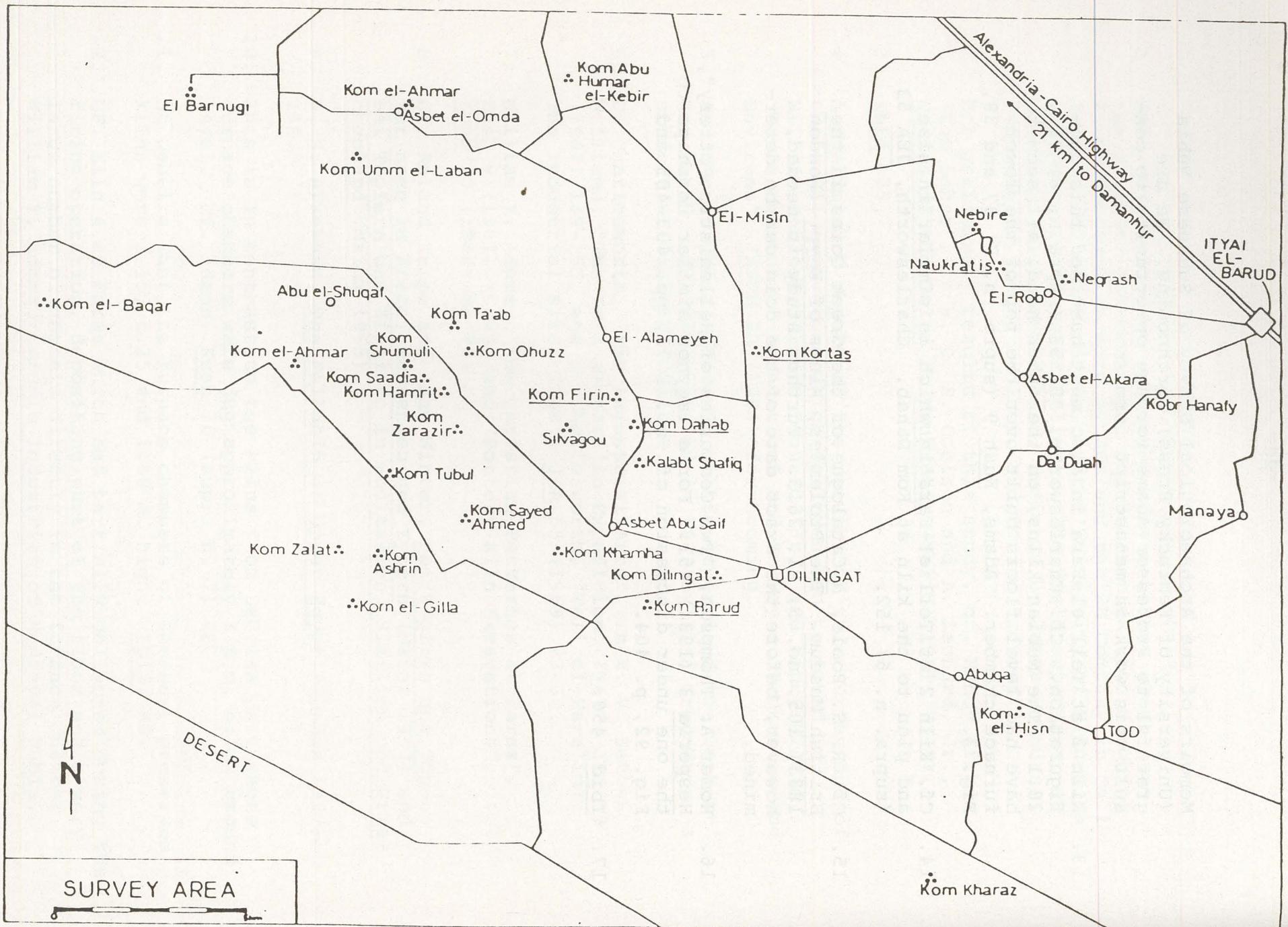


Figure 1. Map of Survey Area. (By Gerald W. Johnson)

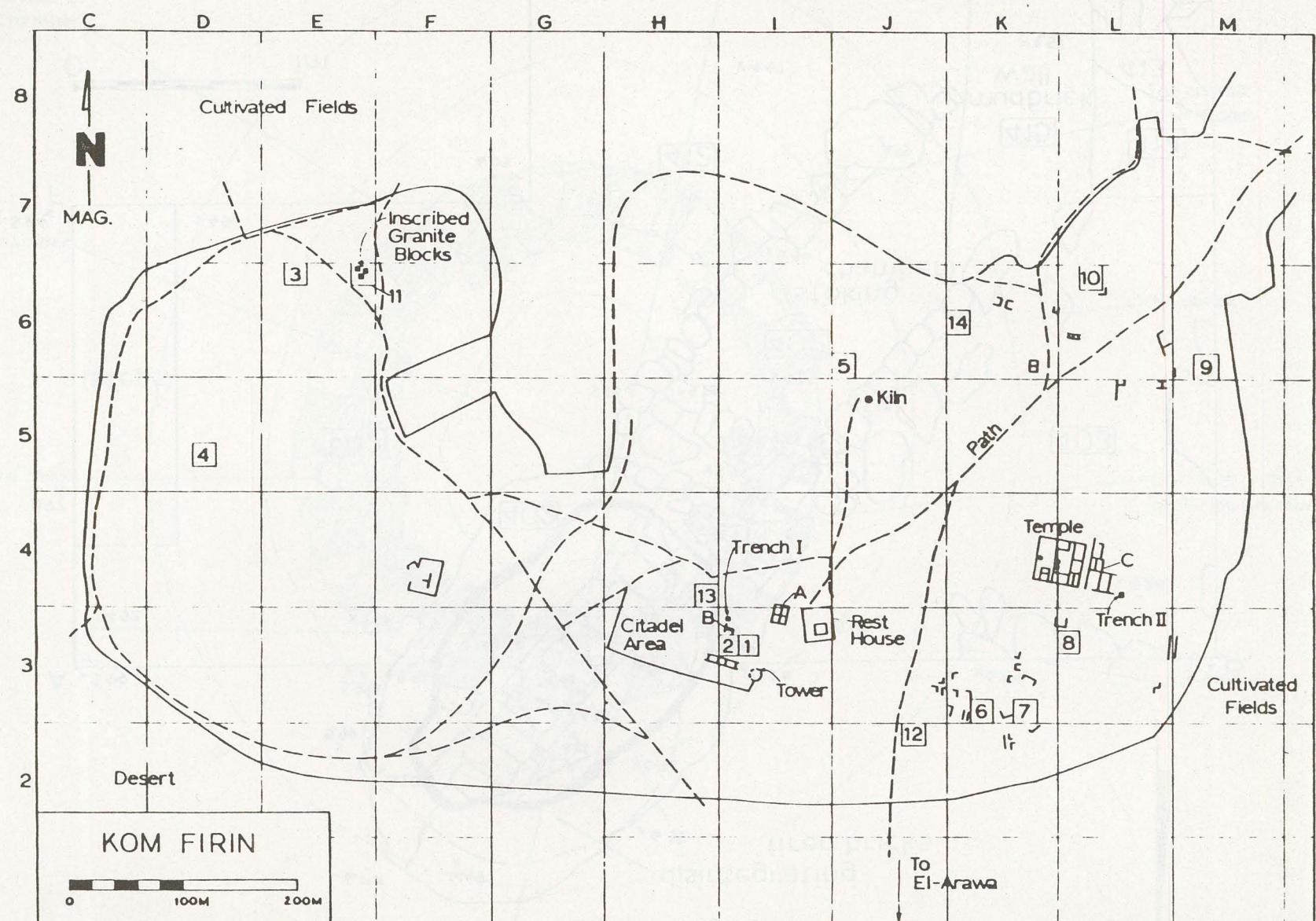


Figure 2. Kom Firin: Map of site. (By Gerald W. Johnson)

KOM FIRIN  
Plan of Lime Kiln A

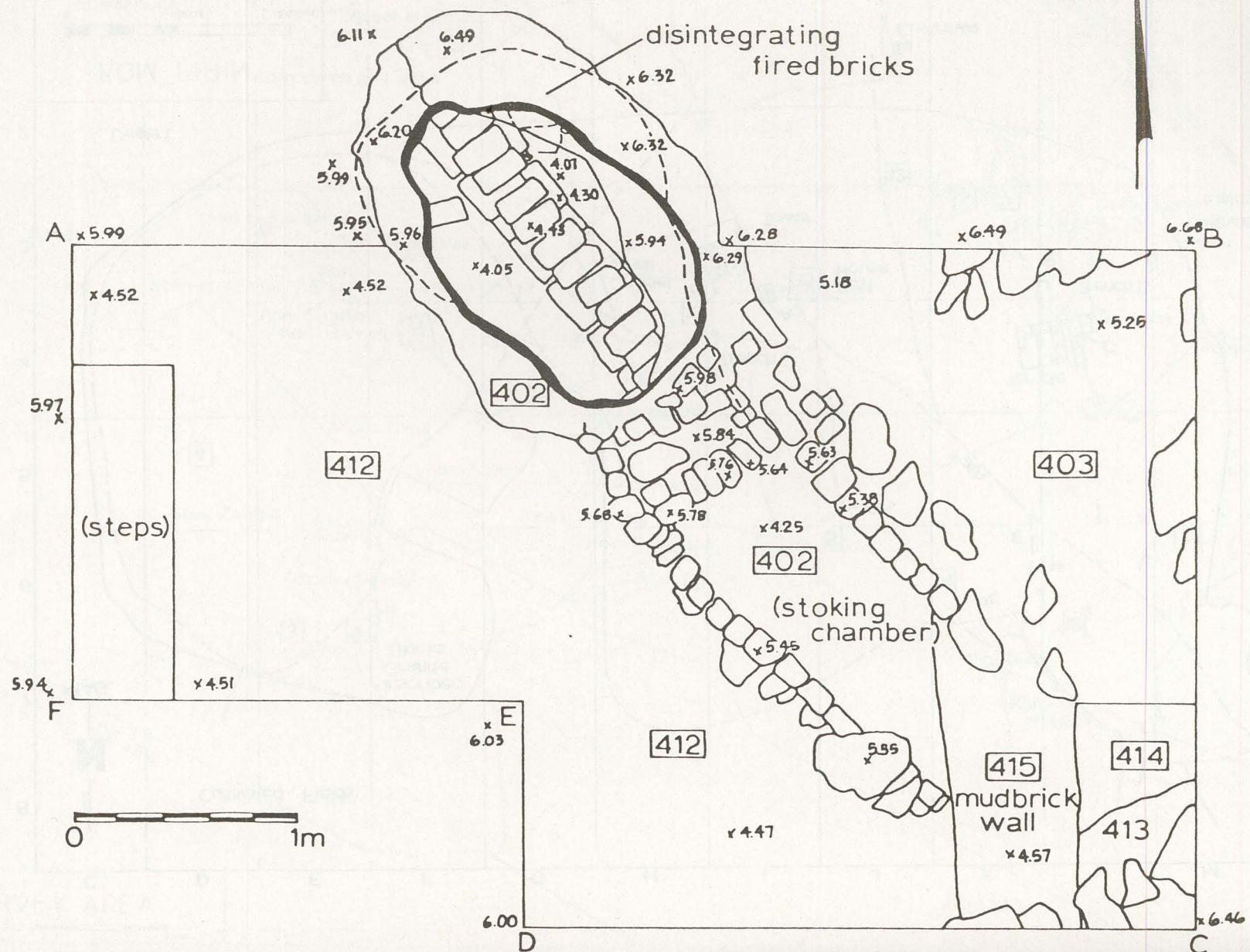


Figure 3.

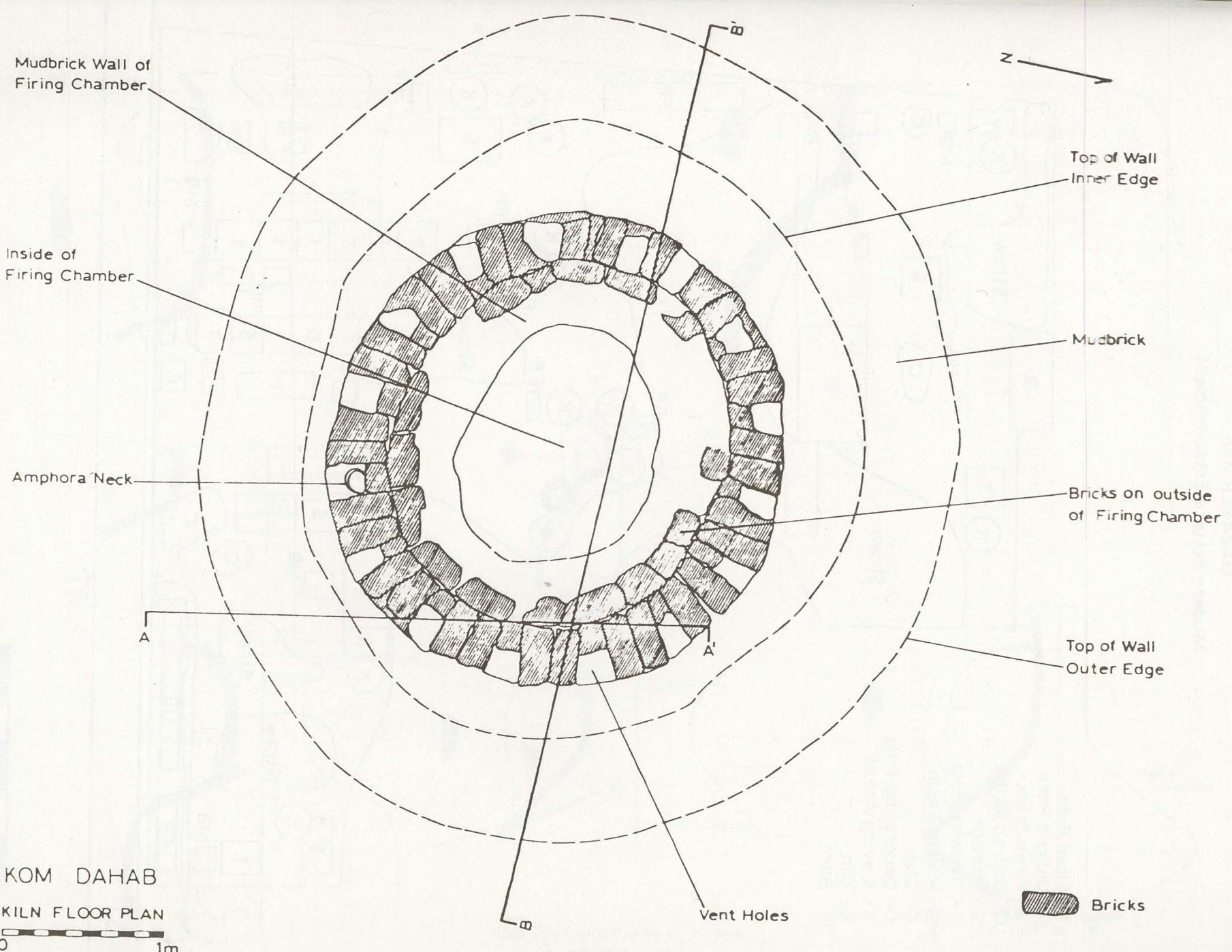
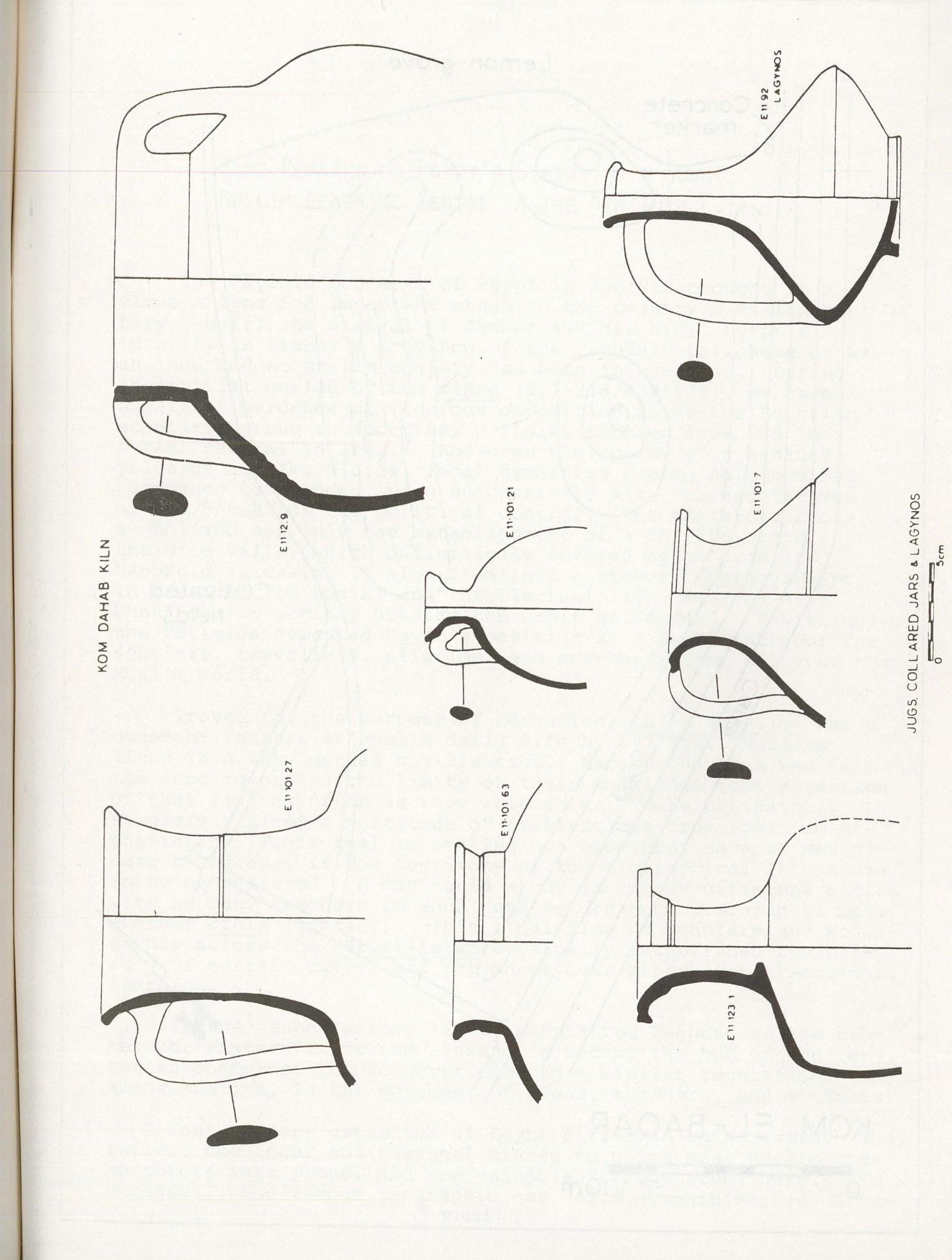
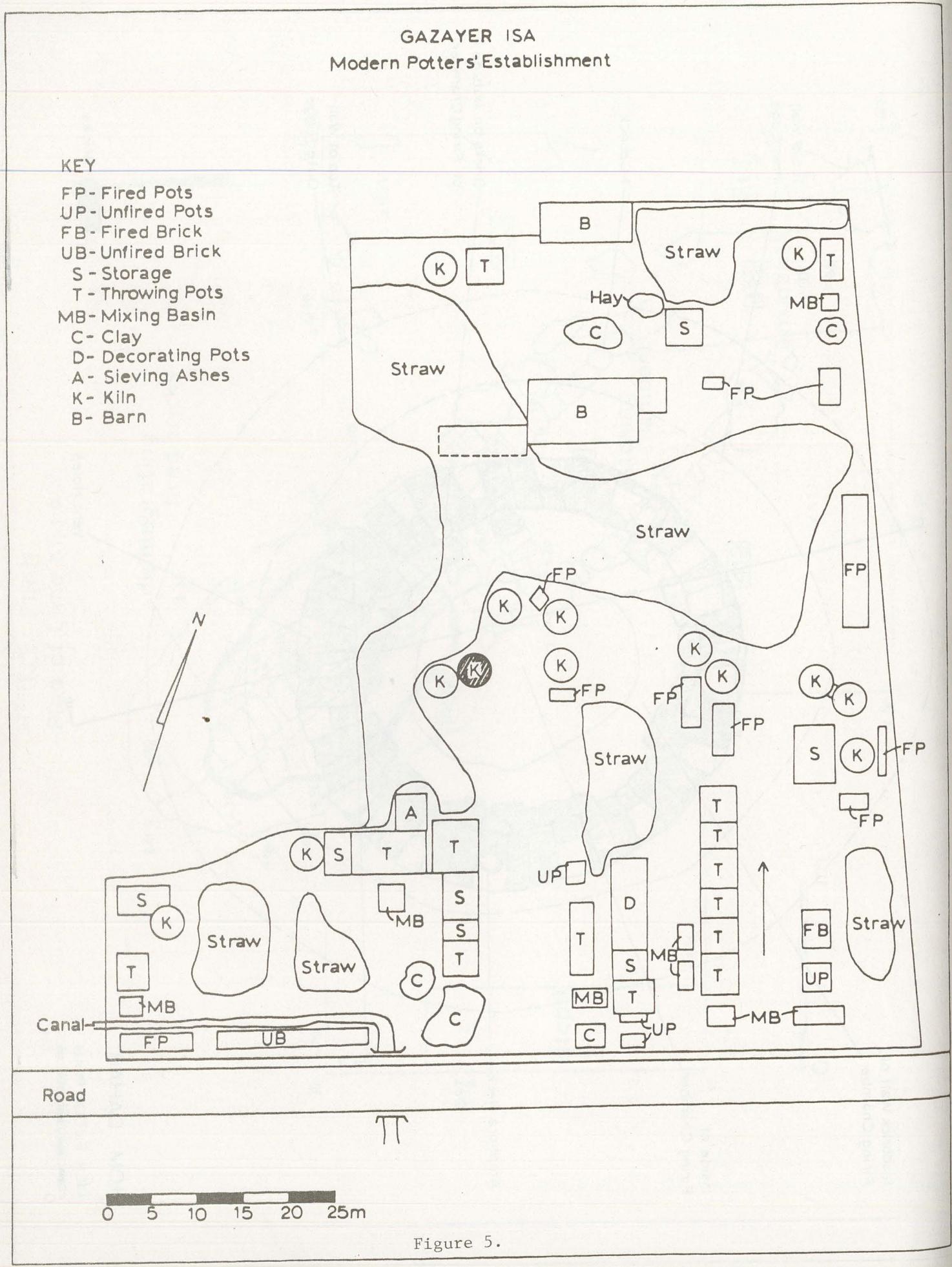
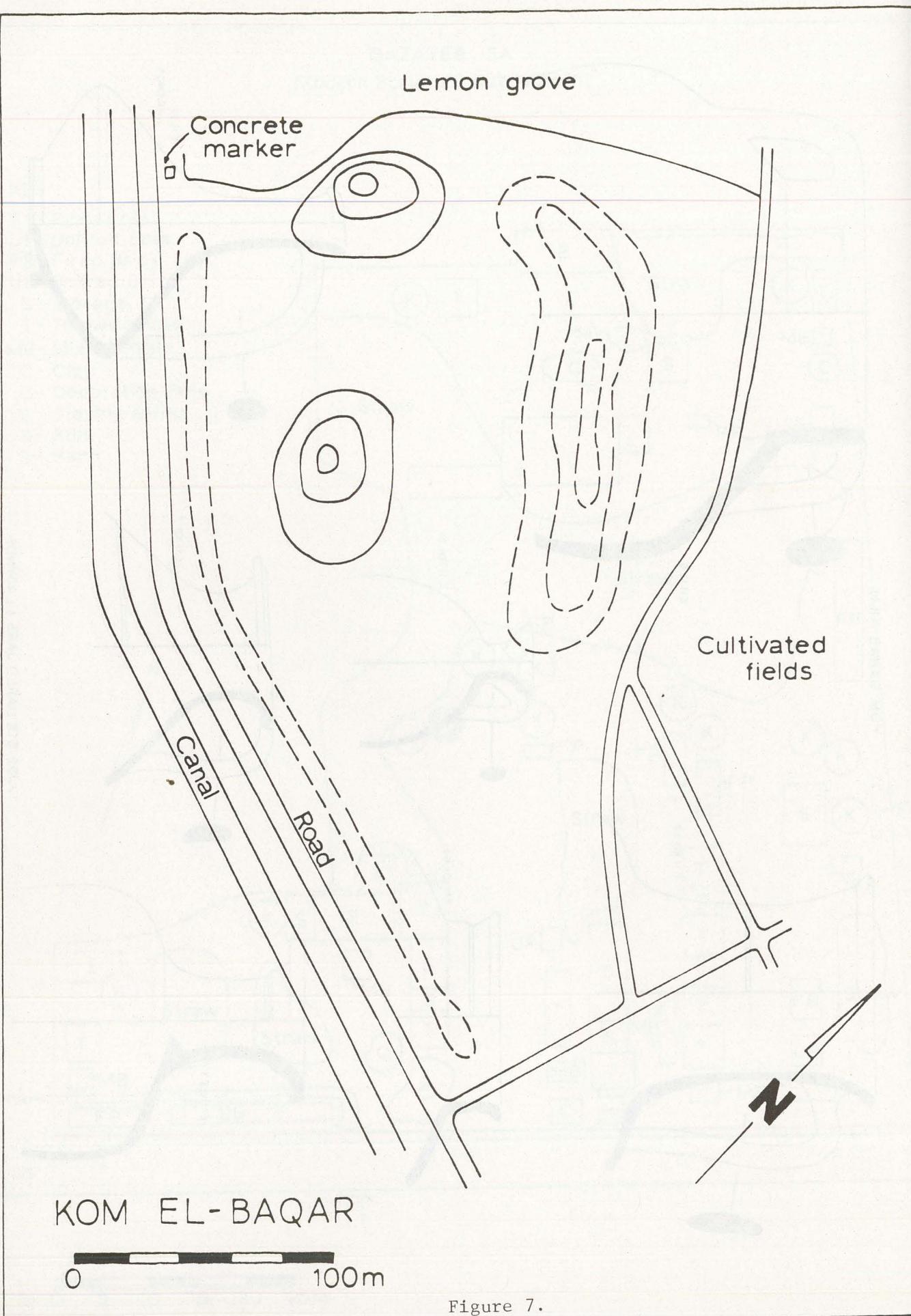


Figure 4.





### SOME REMARKS ON EGYPT'S STATUS AS A SUNNĪ MUSLIM LEARNING CENTER IN THE 4TH/10TH C.<sup>1</sup>

The Fātimid conquest of Egypt in 358/968 brought to a close a long and important stage in the country's Muslim history. Until the arrival of Jawhar and his army, Egypt's identity as either a province of the <sup>c</sup>Abbāsid Caliphate or as an independent Muslim society had been in question. During the initial period of the *mihna* (217-218/832-833), we have our first evidence of vigorous opposition among the Egyptian scholarly group to doctrinal policies imposed from the imperial capital in Iraq.<sup>2</sup> And over the course of a century, Tulūnids and Ikhshīdids, local dynasties paying only nominal obeisance to Baghdad, vied successively with representatives of the <sup>c</sup>Abbāsids for political control. The Fātimid victory symbolized not only the establishment of a Shiite state in the Nile valley which definitively severed Egypt from its <sup>c</sup>Abbāsid suzerain; it also finalized a process whereby Egypt, in terms of its social and intellectual life, emerged as a Sunnī Muslim society outside the orbit of Baghdad. Unwittingly, the Fātimids cemented Egypt's position as a Sunnī entrepot for scholars, travellers, pilgrims, and merchants from all over the Muslim world.

Travel for the purpose of education (*talab al-cilm*) was a constant feature of Muslim daily life by 287/900. Muslims lived in a very mobile civilization. Many among them who felt the need to expand the limits of their knowledge took advantage of that fact as often as they were able. These peripatetic scholars visited a multitude of destinations from Spain to Afghanistan. Their zeal in seeking out prominent savants was almost boundless, if the testimony of the biographical literature is to be believed. A man could study in twenty different cities with as many teachers in each, and return home yearning to make another *rihla* (journey). This tidal flow of scholars and scholarship across the *Dār al-Islām* eventually established the primacy of certain cities and provinces over others for traditional learning.

In the tenth century, Egypt supplanted Baghdad as the center for eastern trade and Alexandria became the hub of Mediterranean commerce. Could Egypt command a similar reputation, among Muslims, in the movement of ideas, teachers, and students?

Contemporary estimates of Egypt differ in this regard. They reflect the local and regional biases to which most Muslim commentators were prone, and are valuable for our study here. Al-Muqaddasī, the famous geographic and <sup>c</sup>Alid sympathizer (d. after

378/988), visited Egypt after the arrival of the Fātimids and left a most useful account of his stay. For him, Cairo was the superior of Baghdad, Damascus, and Nishapur, and was the mercantile center of the world. It was a city of pious and charitable people, numerous *majālis* (classes for students) were convened in its principal mosque, and its inhabitants were renowned for their beautiful chanting of the Qur'ān. Most important for our study is the fact that it was "...the habitat of the *Culamā'*", in other words, a center for Sunnī learning. As far as Al-Muqaddasī was concerned, a scholar could do no better than Cairo.<sup>3</sup>

A less sanguine attitude can be detected in the biography of a scholar from a town near Baghdad who lived from 392/1001 to 463/1070. Though he lived after the period examined here, the opinions expressed in his biography almost certainly echo much older feelings. Undecided as to whether he should study in Cairo with Ibn al-Nahhās or in Nishapur with a group known as the "ashāb al-Asamm", the man consulted a prominent shaykh named al-Barqānī, who gave him the following response: "If you go to Cairo, you will go to only one man. If he escapes you, your trip will be ruined. But, if you go to Nishapur, there you will find a group of scholars. If one should elude you, you may obtain the help of one from among the rest".<sup>4</sup> On such advice, the man opted for Nishapur. From an eastern point of view, Egypt had little to recommend it in terms of the number or quality of its teachers.

The two examples cited above represent "external" views of Egypt. What of the Egyptians themselves? Ancient Egyptians believed that their land was the center of the universe. In Greek and early Roman times, Alexandria set the standard for cultured people all over the Mediterranean. Drawing in part on this pre-Islamic legacy, an individual like ʻUmar b. Muhammad al-Kindī (d. after 350/961), in his short work on the merits of Egypt, could make the following claim: "Wise people agree that the people of the world strive to travel to Egypt and seek to make a living there. But the people of Egypt do not seek to make a living in any other country, and do not travel anywhere else--even if there were a wall separating Egypt and the countries of the world, so much is available in Egypt that its people would have no need of them".<sup>5</sup> However stereotyped the *fada'il* literature is considered to be, we do not find such a boast among the merits attributed to other cities or countries--not, for instance, to Jerusalem by Muslim writers.<sup>6</sup> Egyptians preferred to earn their bread in the familiar setting of their own land, and were not known for extensive travel.

We have similar evidence regarding Egypt's status as a learning center. Egyptians were not numerous among the *ghurabā'* (foreign scholars) listed in the Spanish *tabaqāt* works or in the *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*. We do not often find them taking up positions elsewhere as judges, leaders of the prayers in mosques, or as official witnesses in Muslim courts. Particularly revealing in

this matter is a section of one of the manuscripts of the *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* of the great Syrian historian al-Dhahabī (born 673/1274, died 748/1348 or 753/1352-3) preserved on microfilm at the Institute of Arabic manuscripts in Cairo.<sup>7</sup> This section of the Ahmet III (Istanbul) manuscript contains 259 folios, and covers the years 301-350/913-961. It includes the obituary notices of almost 2,300 scholars, the majority of whom come from Muslim lands east of Egypt. Notices for approximately 125 Egyptians are, however, included.

This group of 125 biographies provides us with an important sample of Egyptian scholars and their teachers. Though some, of course, did travel, most remained in Egypt. Egyptians studied with Egyptians and, in turn, produced a new generation of students who did likewise. Through several generations, we see that these men did not pursue *rihlāt* as readily as did their peers from other lands. Their itineraries appear quite limited by contrast. The material conveys the distinct impression that the corps of scholars in Egypt was perhaps a more autonomous and self-reliant unit than we might have believed formerly. Egyptians did not need to spend time in Baghdad or Nishapur in order to create a self-perpetuating, vibrant intellectual community within the borders of their country. Indeed, when Jawhar entered Fustāt, it was with members of a well-entrenched and accomplished Egyptian Sunnī elite that he conducted formal surrender negotiations.<sup>8</sup>

This section of the manuscript of al-Dhahabī exhibits an additional phenomenon beyond the fact that Egyptians felt little affinity for travel. The number of Egyptians who moved eastward, according to al-Dhahabī's obituary notices, is far exceeded by the number of westward-bound scholars from the east, with a surprising number even moving on past Baghdad to Egypt. Corroboration for this may also be found in al-Dhahabī's *Kitāb al-Cibar*, one of several abridgements by the author of the biographical material found in his *Ta'rīkh*, and in the various manuscripts (Istanbul, Leiden, and Paris) of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffa*. The latter work, written ostensibly as a biographical dictionary of famous Egyptians, includes a substantial number of foreign scholars, many of whom chose to settle permanently in Egypt.

The question of whether or not Egypt was a goal of eastern Sunnī Muslims in search of education, requires a detailed analysis of their itineraries. Such an analysis could be attempted utilizing the impressive bulk of biographical information found in the manuscripts of al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rīkh*. What is clear, however, is that Egypt was no isolated intellectual backwater. If Egyptians remained largely at home for their education, it was because they felt the pedagogical resources available to them locally were at the very least competitive with those in other Muslim lands.

Egypt as an intellectual terminus for eastern Muslims is a problem which awaits further study. That it fulfilled such a role for Spanish Muslims there is little doubt. Rich in detail on itineraries, the biographical works devoted to the scholars of al-Andalus (Ibn al-Farādī, Ibn Bashkuwāl, al-Dabbī, and Ibn al-Abbār) give us further insight into Egypt's status as a center for Muslim scholarship. During their *riḥlāt* to the east, Andalusian Muslims pursued with special relish the study of *hadīth*. A recent doctoral dissertation listed twenty *hadīth*-specialists most popular among Spanish scholars visiting in eastern Muslim lands. Twelve were from Egypt, five from Mecca, two from Baghdad, and one from Medina. In addition, of five experts in *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic commentary) and *qirā'a* (Qur'ānic reading), four were Egyptians.<sup>9</sup> All of these individuals flourished in the 4th/10th century. Though Spanish Muslims were primarily Mālikī, the issue of *madhab* does not seem to have been of crucial importance, since their teacher preferences were not restricted solely to one such affiliation.

On the basis of information drawn from various genres of medieval Arabic literature, we have attempted above a brief assessment of Egypt's intellectual standing within the larger Muslim world of early medieval times. While intensive study of important sources such as al-Dhahabī is necessary and will further clarify our understanding of this world, it is already apparent that Egypt loomed large in the activities of Muslim scholars. The Egyptian *ṣūlāma'* "stayed home", and were content to receive many foreign visitors from both east and west. As such, they created a scholarly network which by Fāṭimid times had made Cairo a formidable rival of Baghdad, Nishapur, Damascus, and other great centers of Muslim learning.

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1982-83 ARCE Fellow

#### NOTES

1. The information and conclusions discussed here will be set forth in much greater detail in the author's forthcoming doctoral dissertation: *Scholars and Travellers: The Social History of Early Muslim Egypt, 217-494/832-1100*, Department of History, Columbia University.
2. Al-Kindī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-qudāt*, ed. Rhuvon Guest (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1912), 451.
3. Al-Muqaddasī, *Ahsan al-taqāṣīm fī maṣrifat al-aqālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906), 197.
4. Al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, eds. Mahmūd Muḥammad al-Tanāḥī and Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Hilū (Cairo: Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1964--), IV, 30.

5. Al-Kindī, Ǧūmar b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, *Fadā'il Misr*, ed. Ǧalī Muḥammad Ǧūmar (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1971), 45.
6. On Jerusalem, see Emmanuel Sivan, "The Beginnings of the 'Fadā'il al-Quds' Literature", *Der Islam* 48 (1971), 100-110.
7. Al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām wa ṭabaqāt al-mashāhir wa'l-aḍlām*, Ms. Ahmet III 2917 (Institute of Arabic Manuscripts microfilm 98/2, pt. 9).
8. For details on these negotiations, see Thierry Bianquis, "La Prise du pouvoir par les Fatimides en Egypte (357-363/968-974)", *Annales Islamologiques* 11 (1972), 49-108, especially 55-65.
9. Lenker, Michael K., *The Importance of the Rihla for the Islamization of Spain*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1982, 265-268.

## ISLAMIC LIBERALISM IN CONTEMPORARY EGYPT

The goals of this research were to learn as much as possible about contemporary religious trends within Islamic liberalism, about the theoretical justifications, the philosophic orientations, the exegetical sources, the linguistic and rhetorical styles, the central symbols, the preferred historical examples and the types of argument in printed and oral discourse on Islamic liberalism. Additional goals included learning about the attitude of others toward the liberals and their thought, the general status and prestige of the liberals, the relation of religious liberals to secular liberals, the strength and vigor of the secular movement, and the linkages and overlap between the liberals and the moderate wing of the fundamentalist movement. Supplementing these goals was the further task of gaining an understanding of the contemporary political cultural setting, that is the cultural and attitudinal framework which defines the significance of issues and personalities and the relevance of recent events. Lastly, some attention was given to the rate and direction of socio-economic change, esp., the possible consequences for restratification and ideological change of the current economic boom and the social mobility which has resulted.

To achieve these ends two methods were employed: interviewing well-informed and strategically placed individuals, and most importantly, the analysis of printed sources. Interviews were to lead to the identification of ideologically relevant texts as well as provide background and understanding. The texts have been collected but only in part read, criticized, analyzed and interpreted. Continuous attention was paid to the media, and constant effort was made to develop a general appreciation of the contemporary cultural scene.

Interviews concentrated on either the component issues of Islamic liberalism or on the various aspects of the contemporary political culture, depending upon the interviewee. The components of Islamic liberalism discussed in each interview included a section from the following topics:

- a) religion and political order in Islam
- b) the doctrinal basis of the Islamic theory of government
- c) political equality in Islam
- d) the nature of the Islamic shura
- e) the limits of ijma'
- f) Islam and democracy
- g) the Islamic concept of social justice
- h) the Islamic definition of freedom

- i) Islam and revolution
- j) Islam and socialism
- k) Jihad in Islam
- l) the relationship between Islam and Turath
- m) the characteristics of Islamic economics as a system
- n) legislation of the Shari'a into law
- o) the political role of the 'ulama
- p) the distinction between general principles and details in the Shari'a
- q) the relevance of history in adapting the Shari'a
- r) Islam and nationalism
- s) interpretation of the contemporary Islamic revival

Given the limited opportunities available and the significant disparity between that part of the research which involves contextual understanding and that part which requires careful textual analysis, I decided to spend as much time as I could outside of the library and in conversation with knowledgeable Egyptians. This effort was indispensable to the task of identifying the relevant printed sources, but I kept the actual study and analysis of the textual materials to the level necessary to permit me to have meaningful interviews. Over one hundred sources in the form of books, monographs, theses, tracts, journals, reports of seminars, and even manuscript replies to questions have been collected in addition to numerous newspaper and magazine articles; and all of these have been sent back to Chicago where I shall study them under less pressed conditions.

The interviewing, and more generally, the vicarious participation in the lively intellectual life of Cairo was the most rewarding part of my research effort and much the greatest part of my energy was spent in identifying relevant personalities who are well informed and have well grounded opinions. A great deal of time was spent on the phone, lining up interviews, and travelling to every part of Cairo to see people in their homes or offices. Those I spoke to fall into three categories: those officially holding positions in the religious establishment, al-Azhar institution, al-Azhar university, the Academy of Islamic Research, the Dar al-Ulum, the Dar al-Ifta, the ministry of Awqaf, etc.; those who are professionally engaged in cultural, political, economic and educational matters; and those Egyptian and foreign individuals who constitute part of the well informed upper stratum of Cairo. In the first category I had 44 meetings with 29 individuals, in the second category I had 53 meetings with 32 individuals, and in the third category I met with approximately 40 individuals. In addition, I met literally hundreds of other Egyptians from all walks of life, but much of that was not accomplished in any professional sense. Most of the interviews or discussions lasted approximately two hours, and virtually all of the first category of interviews and more than half of the rest were carried out in Arabic.

In addition to this major part of my work, I was pleased to be able to present lectures at ARCE on Orientalism and on Islam and ethnicity, another lecture at AID on Egyptian politics,

and two more at AUC on the same topic. During this time I also worked on a paper on the study of political development in the Middle East and I revised a review article on Middle East international relations. In this way I tried to keep a general perspective rather than immerse myself completely in the immediate research. Throughout this time I have concentrated on expanding my reading, writing, speaking, and listening capacities in Arabic and I am pleased to be able to say that this effort has taken me beyond the important level of "disattrition" of my linguistic skills to new capabilities and a better appreciation of the genius of the Arabic language.

In the most serious sense of the term, the results of this research will not be realized for at least many months, until after the analysis of texts and the theoretical synthesis is achieved. At the present time I am too close to the living situation to pretend to the requisite reflectiveness and detachment so that I can only offer some tentative conclusions regarding the interpretive context for the following substantive analysis of doctrine. So it is with some diffidence that I present the following characterization of some aspects of the contemporary religious and political cultural scene in Egypt as it bears on the prospects for Islamic liberalism.

1. Islamic liberal orientations and liberal secular orientations are quite prevalent among the educated classes.
2. There is an even broader consensus that Islamic political ideas accord well with democracy, parliamentary deliberation, civil liberties, and the compassionate state.
3. Many traditional and fundamentalist religionists are antagonistic toward or uneasy about the idea of a liberal Islam, apprehending the possible distortion of nusus or the suspension of the hudud.
4. The crucial difference among progressive and fundamentalist liberals is whether they emphasize what Islam requires or where Islam is silent.
5. All agree on the central significance of Shura, freedom of religion and social equality.
6. There is not a great deal of concern or effort spent defining rights and freedoms and the limits of government.
7. Islamic liberalism is usually approached in a rational-legalistic and formal way, while questions of attitude, psychology, and consciousness are treated separately or not at all.
8. While liberalism is widespread, there is no vigorous liberal movement and no outstanding or dominant liberal theorist among the religious writers, though a number are well known.

9. Much more interest is shown in the works of fundamentalists, and the apparent movement of the fundamentalists toward the liberal center is the central political and ideological phenomenon of this period.
10. The possibility of coalition politics and/or the development of eclectic ideologies linking liberalism and fundamentalism is the most important new aspect of the political-ideological scene.
11. Religious extremism does not appear to be gaining in strength, and barring some unexpected political upheaval or economic disaster it is not likely to play an important role in religious and cultural developments in Egypt.
12. The conservatism of al-Azhar is more structural than attitudinal in the sense that many individuals associated with it are far more liberal than the institution itself. The whole is less than the sum of the parts. This is due in some degree to the fact that it is necessary to be conservative and cautious to get ahead in the institution.
13. The conservatism of al-Azhar colors its performance of a number of functions, i.e. important and even necessary religious and political functions, so that it tends to have a more negative affect on liberalism than on fundamentalism. The natural social and political support for liberal Islam is too well served by al-Azhar as a whole to gamble on the success of an over-intellectualized liberal Islam.
14. Another interesting ideological development has been the movement of the left toward a reassessment of the political significance of religion, esp. insofar as some no longer believe that popular religion is necessarily reactionary, and some are inclined toward working out an Islamic doctrine of economic equality, and some believe that Islam can provide the strongest statement of anti-imperialism.
15. The organized left, as opposed to independent, leftist, individual intellectuals still must prove its bona fides with regard to Islam.
16. Popular Islam is an important part of the culture of Egypt and hence of the political culture. It is vital in maintaining the social order and in sustaining most ordinary people through their extraordinarily difficult lives. It is sustained by a network of institutions and by strong government support, but many individual preachers, prayer leaders, teachers, and self-appointed religious spokesmen can act quite independently and even irresponsibly under this general framework of social and cultural legitimacy. To some degree, the socio-political system is hostage to the work of those engaged in sustaining popular Islam precisely because this sort of Islam does not have a liberal-rational base.

17. In responding first to the challenge of the left and then to the challenge of the extremist fundamentalists, al-Azhar has had to fall back on a traditional form of religious discourse and thinking which, if it does serve to provide grounds for religious authority upon which to refute these two challenges, does not provide a meaningful framework of discourse that can be shared with the educated, liberal, middle class.

18. The present is a time of ideological and particularly religious transition, so it is not yet apparent whether Egypt is evolving toward a complex pluralist system insofar as Islamic ideology is concerned or whether some agreement will develop between the liberal and the conservative religious and ideological support for the present regime.

19. Despite a great deal of discussion concerning the coming elections, it is important and worthy of note that virtually all important political trends and factions accept the present constitution and are agreeable to its formulation of the place of Islam in the modern Egyptian state as well as its specification of institutional arrangements and equality of citizens and civil rights. The constitution, as an ideal if not yet in its practical application, provides a strong, principled, foundation for liberalism in Egypt.

Finally, it is my pleasure to be able to record my gratitude for the supportive encouragement and cooperation which I have received from so many Egyptians of all persuasions and walks of life. I am particularly grateful to the American Research Center in Egypt and their highly professional and efficient directorial family at the Cairo center. The serious scholarly, and low-key manner in which the center is administered inspires confidence and creates an atmosphere which encourages the best work of its fellows.

I am similarly grateful to the officials of the Ministry of Higher Education for their consistent support and appreciation of the intellectual goals of this research. Professors and administrators at al-Azhar University and Cairo University as well as many friends and colleagues and former students at the American University in Cairo were also very generous with their knowledge and advice. Even after more than 20 years of scholarly involvement with things Egyptian, it is a pleasure to be able to record that I have been able to make many new friends and achieve an even deeper appreciation of Egyptian culture.

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Leonard Binder  
1983 ARCE Fellow

1984 ANNUAL MEETING  
LIST OF PAPER TITLES\*

Edward Brovarski (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), "Old Kingdom Inscriptions in the Field Museum"

William D. E. Coulson (University of Minnesota), "The Naukratis Project: 1982-1983"

Eugene Cruz-Uribe (Brown University), "Darius the Lawgiver?"

Whitney Davis (Harvard University Society of Fellows), "Representation and Knowledge in Prehistoric Rock Art and the Origins of the Egyptian Style in the Fourth Millennium B.C."

John C. Deaton (n.a.), "On the Function of Egyptian Pyramids"

Peter Dorman (Metropolitan Museum of Art), "The Dating of Senenmut's Tomb at Deir-el-Bahri (Th. T. 353)"

Richard Fazzini (The Brooklyn Museum), "The 1983 Season of Fieldwork at the Precinct of Mut, South Karnak"

Florence Friedman (Rhode Island School of Design), "The Basic Meaning of 3b: Effectiveness or Luminosity"

Robyn Gillam (New College, Toronto), "Some Stelae formerly in the Wellcome Collection"

Ogden Goelet, Jr. (The Brooklyn Museum), "The Migratory Geese of Meidum and the Role of Migratory Birds in Egypt"

Andrew H. Gordon (University of California, Berkeley), "Two Tombs of Egyptian Nobles in the Khôkha at Thebes"

Lynda Green (University of Toronto), "The Uraeus in the Royal Iconography of the Amarna Period"

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Michael Jones (New York University, Institute of Fine Arts), "Survey and Excavation at the Apis House, Memphis"

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Patricia Paice (University of Toronto), "The Ceramic Corpus and Chronology for the Saite and Persian Periods in the Eastern Nile Delta"

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\*These titles are those forwarded to the New York office from the Program Committee as of February 1984. We list them here in the order received for general information; a formal program is mailed separately to all members.

#### IN MEMORIAM

DOWS DUNHAM  
1890-1984

Dows Dunham, Curator Emeritus of the Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, died on January 10, 1984 at the age of 93. Mr. Dunham was a dedicated Egyptologist throughout his long and rich lifetime. Graduated from Harvard in 1913, he joined the Harvard University-Boston Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition a year later as an assistant to its director George A. Reisner. In 1915, he became a member of the Museum's staff, serving as Assistant Curator of Egyptian Art and Associate Curator before becoming Curator in 1942. In addition, he worked with the Expedition from 1920-1928 in Egypt and the Sudan. Among the excavations he helped direct was the tomb of Queen Hetep-heres, mother of the pharaoh Cheops who built the Great Pyramid. In 1947, Mr. Dunham, together with William S. Smith, Joseph Smith and Edward W. Forbes, founded the ARCE. He officially retired from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1956 and was made Curator Emeritus. Despite his retirement, he remained very active in the succeeding years. It was during this time, from 1955-1964, that he served as Treasurer of the ARCE. Mr. Dunham published numerous books and articles concerned with the work of the Expedition, including a series of reports on ancient Nubia entitled The Royal Cemeteries of Kush.

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